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761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once: he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a [821] thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

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/143 cont./
which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aﬃ). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aﬃ. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Nandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aﬃ, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

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Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
184 the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional
782 prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
797 help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

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generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. [illegible]y soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guaraní* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule